

A SOCIALIST COMMENTARY ON COLONIAL AFFAIRS

# Venture

JOURNAL OF THE FABIAN COLONIAL BUREAU

VOL. 3 No. 4

MAY, 1951

MONTHLY 6d

## Comment

Incorporating *Empire*

### NEVER AGAIN!

AT any time now Southern Rhodesia may ask for dominion status. A select committee has just reported on the amendments to the constitution which are required for that status—the chief being the abolition of the right of the United Kingdom Government to advise the Crown to disallow discriminatory legislation passed by the Southern Rhodesian Parliament. Britain has failed to exercise this right, but that is no reason for giving it up altogether. If anyone at Westminster contemplates the emergence of a new Dominion in 1953, as the select committee recommends, we can only hope that they will first examine the wretched tragedy now being enacted south of the Limpopo.

What happens when a territory becomes a Dominion? Britain gives up the power to control that territory in either its external or its internal policy. Britain does not merely give up *some* power; it gives up *all*. It gives up power to protect as well as power to exploit. It performs an act of faith in the capacity, integrity and humanity of the men to whom power is transferred. This faith has not been justified in the Union of South Africa. We do not believe it would be justified in Southern Rhodesia. We hold this view, not because South African and Rhodesian Europeans are peculiarly vicious, but because the majority of the populations of those territories are not economically or politically strong enough to defend themselves against the ruling (white) minority. Absolute power corrupts absolutely, Lord Acton warned us, and this is true of communities as well as individuals.

How far the corruption has gone in South Africa is demonstrated by the recent decision of the South African Government to carry the exclusion from the common roll of 50,000 Cape coloured people by a simple majority of the Union Parliament, contrary to the requirement of a two-thirds majority

of both Houses sitting together laid down in the South Africa Act passed by the British Parliament in 1909. This Act was passed without amendment by a generous, Liberal-dominated Parliament after its provisions had been approved by resolutions of the colonial legislatures of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, the Cape and Natal. Natal went further, and submitted the proposals to its people in a direct referendum. There was no question of Britain imposing the constitution. This Act gave birth to the Union of South Africa. In 1931 the Statute of Westminster defined 'dominion status.' It did not create a new status, but confirmed what had already been established. When the Statute was considered by the Union Parliament, it was unanimously agreed that 'the proposed legislation will in no way derogate from the entrenched provisions of the South Africa Act.' When it was considered at Westminster, the Attorney-General replied to questions that it was not necessary to write this fact into the Statute, for the repeal of the entrenched clauses by the South Africans would be 'contrary to the good faith and sense of honour that they as much desire to observe as we.' Twenty years later, the Speaker of the Union House of Assembly has ruled that the entrenched clauses no longer limit the legislative competence of the Union Parliament. Those who thought that it might be limited, if not in law, at least in practice by the sense of honour of the Nationalist Party have had a rude awakening. To its credit, the United Party is fighting both the proposals of the Representation of Non-Europeans Bill and the manner in which it is proposed to pass it, but its fight would carry more conviction if it were not itself so heavily compromised by its own equivocal handling of non-European rights when in power. If the Bill is passed, it will still be possible to challenge it in the courts, and it looks at present as though that challenge will be thrown down.



The Bill is a blow to the Coloured people, who will be put on a separate roll and be allowed to vote only for Europeans. But their loss is secondary to that of South Africa as a whole. If the Union Parliament is not bound by the South Africa Act, by what is it bound? Not by the will of the people, for the majority of the people are not represented in it. Not by the wise circumspection of a just Government, for Dr. Malan could have had his Bill without trouble if he had been able to command an overwhelming majority of even the European vote. Not by world opinion, for the Nationalist Party does not care for world opinion. Not by the British Parliament or the Commonwealth to which South Africa belongs, for they have no power. The British people have had experience of such Parliaments, and they know that they can be as despotic as tyrannical kings. We remember the eighteenth century Parliaments which presided over the enclosure of land, the persecution of Ireland, the plundering of Bengal and the loss of the American Colonies. Is this what South Africa wants? If we were South African Europeans—even if we were Afrikaners—we would not dare to entrust our liberties to such a body.

Dr. Malan is to be congratulated on revealing to the South African and British peoples what power in the hands of a minority can mean. 'All the pleasing illusions, which made power gentle, and obedience liberal . . . are to be dissolved . . . All the decent drapery of life is to be rudely torn off.' It is just as well. For this South African dispute is only secondarily a matter of race. The same thing could happen in a different form in West Africa, in Malaya, in Kenya or Northern Rhodesia, in the Sudan, even in Fiji, if in the future the British Government should forget its basic democratic principles in seeking a settlement from expediency. The same thing can happen in 1953 in Southern Rhodesia. The British Government should now say clearly: *Never Again!*

## SINGAPORE VOTES

SINGAPORE has held its second election, and in doing so has introduced two welcome new factors into the Southern Asian scene. First, the electorate displayed a striking indifference to racial prejudice. There were three Indians and one European amongst the successful nine candidates, three Chinese, one Eurasian and one Ceylonese. Many Chinese must have voted for non-Chinese to produce this result, and all the elected candidates spoke of themselves as Malaysians. Secondly, Singapore's young Labour Party fought for the first time and secured two seats. The Labour Party

works for improved social services and working conditions, the union of Singapore with the Federation of Malaya, and self-government within the Commonwealth. We hope that this early success will draw many supporters into its ranks, for Singapore harbours within its boundaries many examples of shocking living conditions of the kind against which the Labour movement in this country has fought so energetically. The need for a strong Labour Party comes second only to Singapore's need for inter-racial unity. It is encouraging, too, that this election was fought against a background of improvements in education. More than 10,000 new school places were provided last year, 18 new schools were opened, and work has started on 18 more. Teachers are being trained in intensive courses, the aim being to provide two complete staffs for each school building, to enable double sessions to be worked. The content of education is as important as the provision of schools, and here Singapore is making a bold bid for unity by establishing English as the medium of instruction in most schools, with a vernacular as compulsory second language. Where Chinese is preferred as the medium, the second language must be English. This courageous policy is in line with the imaginative decision to start Singapore on its democratic path by extending to all British subjects the right to vote, regardless of race, sex, literacy or financial qualifications. This time, twice the number registered as registered in the first election, though it is reported that only about half the electorate voted. Symbols as well as the names of candidates were printed on the voting papers. No doubt there is still ample room for improvement, but this election justifies both the establishment of the universal franchise in 1946 and the new increase in the number of elected members, which establishes an elected majority in Legislative Council. Singapore thus follows the road on which Ceylon set out in 1931. The lesson should not be lost on East Africa, where elections are still fought on a communal basis, or on Malaya, where elections are not yet fought at all.

## OFFICIAL INFORMATION

MEMBERS of Parliament are frequently left bewildered when they hear the answers to their questions in the House of Commons. One Member, Mr. Reginald Sorensen, must have been even more bewildered than usual by two answers given on the Seychelles. On November 15, 1950, Mr. Sorensen asked for an assurance that subsidies would be maintained on certain foods until and unless wage increases compensating for their withdrawal had been granted. Mr. Dugdale replied



that Mr. Sorensen must be referring to a statement made in the Seychelles in July, 1950, and that the Government of the Seychelles had 'recently . . . increased the subsidy on rice and sugar.' On March 8, 1951, Mr. Sorensen asked 'why subsidies on rice and sugar have been abolished, despite his assurance on November 15 last that the subsidies had been increased?' This time Mr. Cook replied. It had been found, apparently, 'that large quantities of subsidised sugar were being used for the manufacture of illicit liquor, and in the case of rice that large numbers of poor people were selling their coupons to their wealthier neighbours.' Are we really to understand that this has been discovered only in the period between Mr. Sorensen's two questions, although the subsidies had been in operation for years? An even stranger answer was given when Mr. Sorensen asked on March 14 'why the Seychelles Penal Code Bill, Clause 25, proposes

to make corporal punishment permissible in view of official statements that corporal punishment for all crimes excepting prison offences, is to be abolished in British colonial areas.' Mr. Sorensen had a copy of the Bill in his possession at the time he asked the question. He received the extraordinary reply that there was no intention of introducing this Bill. In fact, it was published before it had been considered in detail by the Seychelles Government. And what was the reason for this very unusual procedure? The Bill was published before consideration, 'owing to printing limitations'! Is it impossible for the Seychelles Government to instal a duplicator, so that Bills which are not to be introduced anyway need not be printed? We have often thought that extraordinary things go on in the Seychelles, but had never imagined such a pantomime as these answers reveal.

## THE AFRICAN WORKER AND ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

TWO years ago the Report of an Enquiry into the efficiency of six thousand Africans employed by the Kenya-Uganda Railway<sup>1</sup> included one significant warning: 'a doctor . . . can assert that the cause of a poor work-output is more mental than physical. Malnutrition and disease play their part, but sitting and talking with the workers in their homes, one became aware of a very grave discontent which, unless constructively guided and relieved, may well threaten the civil peace.' The causes of this deep-rooted uneasiness have yet to be fully investigated. Some of them were referred to in *Impact on Africans*, by Dr. Emory Ross, which we published last month. But there are some which are plain for all to see. The movement of rural Africans into urban conditions, the separation of migrant workers from wives and families, the almost unattainable standards of Europeans visible to African workers—these are inherent in the general problem of the social consequences of major economic changes. These changes are not slowing down. At present, figures quoted on pages of this number indicate, only a small proportion of the whole population of Africa is directly involved in them. But the pace of change increases. What changes, if any, are being made to ease for the African worker the transition which in this country caused untold suffering to millions of British men, women and children?

The Report of the Kenya Government's Labour

Department for 1949<sup>2</sup> deals at some length with the attitude of the African worker to his work. The most important factor, as one would expect, is the personal relationship with the employer—which presents a problem in any country, but particularly where employers are often separated from their workers by wide cultural gaps and particularly a different colour of the skin. The Kenya Report is definite that employers who provide bad conditions of employment but are happy with their workers are never short of labour, whereas good conditions but bad relations leave the employer always seeking workers. Such experience seems to be shared in South Africa, where Dunlops in Durban provide just the kind of 'welfare' amenities which the Kenya Report describes as being desirable, but many of whose workers, it is reported, would not mind, or might even prefer, working elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

Good personal relations are obviously much more difficult to establish in a factory or on a plantation than on a small farm or in a shop. It is here that British experience in trade union organisation, wages councils, Whitley Councils, etc., can be of the greatest value. That this is becoming recognised not only by Government Labour Departments but by employers is the best omen for the future. The Kenya Report refers to newcomers in the secondary industries of the Colony who have had labour troubles owing to

<sup>1</sup> *African Labour Efficiency Survey*. Colonial Research Publication No. 3. H.M.S.O.

<sup>2</sup> Government Printer, Nairobi. 2s.

<sup>3</sup> See review of *The African Factory Worker* on page 11.



ignorance of local conditions, but who, on the other hand, have come from the background of United Kingdom industrial relations, and are ready to discuss terms and conditions of service with employees or their representatives. In West Africa, the European-owned companies are similarly much more conversant with the new world than are many small employers in East and Central Africa, and everywhere Government servants benefit from a reasonable approach to this subject. There is, however, plenty of ground for thinking that the attitude of African and Indian employers, as well as that of some Europeans, is still capable of substantial improvement.

Housing is also of major importance. In the towns, the Report shows, only the skilled and highly-paid worker can afford to bring his family to live with him, and the average worker suffers from rents out of all proportion to his earnings or to the accommodation provided. Those who argue that migrant workers can never be efficient should therefore pay attention to housing accommodation in the towns. Southern Rhodesia, for example, is considering legislation which appears to aim at establishing permanent urban and rural classes amongst its Africans, but the failure of the Urban Areas Act of 1946 to provide anything like adequate housing in the towns must necessarily cut the ground from under such an attempt. It is, here, too, that the lack of adequate local government machinery is felt throughout Africa. How many towns have adequate housing programmes? How many governments can enforce rent control? The provision of community centres and welfare halls, desirable though this may be in principle, should be only secondary to the satisfaction of housing needs.

Where these needs are met by the employer, as on mining and plantation concerns, or in domestic service, the African worker does not see their importance. The Kenya Report points out that in his own home food and housing have no economic significance, and the provision of them at his place of employment has confirmed the African 'in his attitude that he has a prescriptive right to them, and this has led to very considerable differences of opinion between him and his employer.' The African, it is said, is interested in his money wage. This seems only natural, since he comes out of the Reserves to earn it, and trade union views on tied cottages in Britain would appear to indicate that he does not hold this view merely because he is an African. British experience has been that workers do not wish to look to their employers for everything, and it may well be that company housing and company rations will in time become a thing of the past in Africa, as in Britain.

This time is not yet. The 'malignant malnutrition' to which the Efficiency Survey of 1949 referred has not by any means been eradicated. Africans who have been badly fed in childhood must at least be better fed when in employment, and employers must continue to provide food whether it is appreciated or not. It is suggested in Kenya that where local circumstances require the provision of food and housing, the full cost should be paid to the worker, who, in turn, should re-imburse his employer to the value of rations and accommodation received. This is typical of the kind of difficult question which can be sorted out only by full and frank discussion between employers and workers, and again it highlights the necessity for proper negotiation.

There is also a need for technical training, following on a much better general education. These are the responsibilities of governments, though employers themselves can make a great contribution. The Kenya Report stresses the importance of giving proper instructions to workers, of teaching them the easiest ways of doing their jobs and the reasons for doing them, and it points out that proper supervision of labour 'does not mean that somebody merely watches a worker performing a particular task.'

Lastly, the Report refers to the shortage of consumer goods as a reason for lower productivity. This again is a long-term problem which has been with us since the war. But it should be added that in parts of Africa it is not only consumer goods that are too expensive for the African worker. *West Africa* (April 7, 1951) stated that maize in the Gold Coast now costs 'perhaps eight times' what it cost in 1947, that in the Onitsha Province of Nigeria yam prices in February were over 75 per cent higher than the year before. The Railway Workers' Union of Nigeria has—not altogether unnaturally—asked for a 50 per cent wage increase. Thus the African employed worker takes the full weight of conditions which require major economic changes and fundamental social readjustments for their improvement.

There is no quick way out of this situation. The hope for the African worker lies ultimately in the strength and maturity of his own organisations. But while these are being achieved the greatest need is for understanding, sympathy, and plain efficiency on the part of his employer. Africans hope to improve their country and will readily understand that prosperity can never be built on the basis of inefficient or recalcitrant labour. Both sides—European and African, employer and employed—have everything to gain by attempting the psychological adjustments which an economic revolution imposes.



# The Chinese in South-East Asia

"One of the major events of the age is Asia's coming into her own," said Pandit Nehru in June, 1950. And within Asia, the major event of this century may prove to be the full emergence of China. What will that emergence mean to the countries of South-East Asia, now struggling to establish themselves as stable, independent states, where Chinese immigrants have long been settled? In the following article, a contributor with long experience of the Far East discusses some of the questions raised in the first major book to provide us with an authoritative background to this problem.

DR. Victor Purcell's *The Chinese in Malaya* appeared in 1948. It will be remembered that Dr. Purcell took a wide sweep, not limiting himself to the economic contribution of the Malay Chinese; that he gave with meticulous fairness the data for the understanding of British-Chinese and Malay-Chinese relations, and that he studied the results of the impact of the Malayan environment on the forms and institutions of Chinese traditional life. It was manifest that a like study\* of all the major Chinese communities in this troubled area was needed. The presence of some ten million unassimilated strangers, intensely race-conscious, backed by the fervours of a renascent China, makes a problem for the new or reviving states as well as for the remaining colonial powers. Reliable materials to enlighten judgment were dispersed and hard to come by. Dr. Purcell has assembled and presented them with lucidity and fairness.

After an important introduction in which he speculates on the wider issues, Dr. Purcell rapidly surveys the distribution of Chinese settlements in the area generally and then proceeds to detailed studies in each of the countries: Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Malaya, Borneo, Indonesia and the Philippines. In each the same pattern of study is observed, and each in turn strengthens in the reader the impression that Dr. Purcell defines in his judgment of 'the feebleness of the attempt made by the Colonial Powers and the indigenous Governments in the area to understand the overseas Chinese and their problems.'

Dr. Purcell's work raises the curtain on an arresting, if not positively frightening, scene. He does not profess that he has a neat solution for the problem, but he might claim to have set the issues in clear definition and to have given sifted information that cannot be ignored or seriously misconstrued.

Each survey begins with an attempt at an esti-

mate of the numbers, the sex ratio, the distribution, occupations and territorial origins of the settlers—nearly in every case, in the lack of recent censuses, a process of inference from the best data available. The care with which this is done creates confidence in Mr. Purcell's approach to the less concrete issues. There follows in each case a history of Chinese contacts with the country from the earliest references in the Chinese sources down to the present-day restrictions on Chinese entry into Siam and the Philippines. This part of the work is no small contribution to the social and economic history of the countries surveyed, especially since the time of the first impact of the adventures from the West which fairly rapidly created the conditions favourable to Chinese infiltration. The narrative and discussion are illuminated by an admirable choice of illustrative passages from the record of early voyagers and merchants and later officials. Dr. Purcell has found an admirable counter-estimate written by Ong Tae-hae, a Chinese 'scholar and a gentleman,' written in 1791 after ten years' residence in Java. The earlier Dutch community in Java, by his scale of values, measures up to very little. It is a delightful interlude in a somewhat sombre narrative, serving, too, as a warning against summary judgments of alien civilisations.

The Chinese became the middlemen between the agencies of the West and the natives of the countries in which they settled. In Indonesia they were, under native rulers and later under the Dutch, farmers of the revenues. As traders, craftsmen, money-lenders, they initiated relatively little, but continued existing functions with increased efficiency. Purcell justly notes that 'it is their superior resource, ability and industry to the people among whom they live rather than the vicious propensities' (stressed chiefly by sufferers under their commercial rivalry) 'that makes them constitute a problem.'

There are ample evidences in the earlier days of the assimilation of the Chinese into the local populations. It was a slow process, rarely completed in less than three generations, if indeed it

\* *The Chinese in South East Asia*. (Royal Institute of International Affairs. Oxford University Press. 50s.)



ever was completed. The mixed race, one has been tempted to think, might have been the salvation of some of these areas. The Sino Burman, in whom may be combined the industry, basic good sense and capacity for discipline of the Chinese with the cheerfulness, charm and quicker artistic perception of the Burmese, is something notable in race development. But this hope virtually is ended. The increased scale of immigration and the increased proportion of women immigrants make for self-contained communities based on Chinese institutions and language. Developing popular education adds to this consciousness of difference. Dr. Purcell gives close attention to Chinese education in these areas. The Chinese are prepared to make sacrifices to maintain their own schools independent of, or very loosely related with, the general educational organisation of the country. They show everywhere nowadays great keenness for an English education—it is a sound investment—but since the Revolution in Canton, schools using the simplified national language in South-East Asia have found in the Three Principles of Dr. Sun Yat Sen the new evangel.

These communities living profitably in various proportions among neighbours of different inheritance, speech, and frequently religion, through education are strengthening ties with their homeland. The Chinese State urges and welcomes the allegiance of these prosperous overseas communities. But can Siam afford to recognise at its very heart a compact, prosperous Chinese 'state within the state'? This is a new fear superimposed upon the justified fear of the Chinese as effective competitors, especially in small-scale trading and the crafts, but increasingly in more imposing activities. The Chinese are not at all likely in their new pride of nationality to maintain their old attitude that he who will may govern them, so long as they can trade and amass wealth. They may use their strength more and more to influence local governments to their own advantage, or to subordinate local concerns to the well-being of the Chinese People's Republic. This is the problem of the next decades, and it would be a rash man who would offer to lead us towards a solution. The local governments must find the answers, for, clearly, no one answer meets all the cases.

Dr. Purcell asks if these Chinese settlements have served for good in the countries concerned. Giving consideration to Purcell's assessment of the evidence for and against the Chinese immigrants and on his own experience of many years' residence in one of these countries, the present writer would venture the opinion that the Chinese have made a major contribution, perhaps the greatest, to the economic welfare of these areas.

However, in the changed attitude of the native inhabitants of the new states and of the British colonial areas, the presence of these coherent national groups, which well may become outposts of the forces now dominant in China itself, constitutes, if not an active menace, at least an almost certain source of conflict. In the past the Chinese intermittently have been hated for their success and sometimes for their ruthless money piling. They have emerged smiling from riot and even massacre and have continued to make money. They have done virtually nothing to spread the unique values of Chinese culture even in Burma and Siam where they started with a measure of common ground in religion. The advantages they have conferred have been almost exclusively economic, and therein they have been contributors to the diffusion rather of western than of their own culture. Are the new nations among whom they live likely to regard this self-regarding commercial activity as justification for a claim of a privileged separateness?

Dr. Purcell sees China and these South-east Asian communities, which have hitherto been accustomed to refer back to a golden age in remote antiquity, now with one mind striving to set up economic and political institutions following Western patterns, in order that they may be strong to face the West. The golden realm is now either the U.S.A. or Soviet Russia as tastes may dictate. But can these countries graft western technology and institutions on to Eastern societies without completely altering their essential nature? The bulwarks against change in China have been Confucianism and the family organisation. The former, despite conventional reverence, becomes less and less a controlling force in living; the family system, strained by the development of city life and by emigration, now faces complete disintegration as a result of the happier status of women in New China. British power in India tried to conserve traditional institution and standards at least in the Princes' States, but there is no comparable conserving influence in China. The newly enfranchised young of China have not yet clearly apprehended their sailing directions. The end of the voyage is the attainment of technical expertness, and a new policy based on western institutions, and they steer into the unexperienced, challenging Western nations and individuals in the process. We have no desire to divert the course: our question is, what can we do to limit the hazards of the conflicts by the way and to ensure that they come at their golden fleece and not at a phantasmal deathscape of the moon? This is only one of the many disturbing themes for speculation that Dr. Purcell's book inspires.



## SUCCESS FOR THE CHAGGA

THE Chagga tribe live on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, on the border between Tanganyika and Kenya. At the beginning of the century the Roman Catholic Mission at Kilema first introduced coffee to Kilimanjaro, and in course of time the crop was taken up by Chagga growers, slowly at first, but more rapidly as they came to realise the profitable character of the European coffee plantations on which some of them worked.

In 1925 they formed the Kilimanjaro Native Coffee Planters' Association 'to protect and promote the interests of the native coffee growers on the mountain side' and invited the Senior Commissioner to act as the first President and Secretary. A year later, Africans filled both offices. The objects of the Association were to 'assist in the proper control of coffee planting and in the sale of produce, to guard against pest and disease . . . to assist in . . . shipment or sale of produce, purchase of apparatus and materials.' A number of rules were laid down as to notification of disease, opening of new coffee plantations, inter-cropping and irrigation and, in conclusion, 'the sale of coffee shall be controlled by the Association and be carried out according to the vote and wishes of the majority.'

The Association early experienced the usual trouble with a recalcitrant minority, and in 1929 a rule was made under the Native Authorities Ordinance by which subscriptions were abolished, and all native planters of coffee were obliged to become members of the Association and market their crops through it. By 1930 the Association had 12,000 members, but administrative inexperience and the years of depression and low prices brought their troubles. There was even a riot among the members, and the windows of the store were broken. An administrative officer was seconded to manage the Association, and under his wise and tactful guidance difficulties were straightened out and progress began.

In 1932 a Co-operative Societies Ordinance was enacted, and under this, the Association was decentralised and reorganised as the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union, with 16 primary societies, each with its own Chairman and Committee, the Chairman constituting the Committee of the Union. In 1937 the problems of controlling cultivation and preparation were simplified by the establishment of the Moshi Native Coffee Board, which appointed the Union as its trading agent. By 1939 there were 28 affiliated societies with a membership of 32,000 Chagga coffee growers, handling upwards of 3,000 tons of coffee a year. Sales were not limited to coffee, and the Union was one of the largest sellers of shade-dried hides and skins in Tanganyika. It also supplied its members with implements, coffee pulpers and vegetable seeds. It continued to help members in the care of their plantations and farms, in particular in the prevention and eradication of pests and diseases, both of crops and animals. It received deposits and made loans on the security of produce delivered and encouraged 'the spirit and practice of thrift, mutual help and self-help.' By 1947 management was entirely in African hands, though the Union continued to employ a European firm of auditors and accountants. The Union pressed on with educational work, sending selected employees for further training in Europe, and in 1949 opening a coffee school near Moshi, in collaboration with the Moshi Native Coffee Board.

In 1950, new headquarters were started at Moshi as 'a monument to the progress of Chagga.' Sir Charles Dundas, who twenty-five years earlier had been the first

Chairman of the movement, was invited back to Tanganyika to lay the foundation stone. The Chagga had hoped to decorate the new building with a portrait of Sir Charles as they had known him—it was a slight disappointment that he had none of that date in his possession, but a new one was made. The Chagga story is clearly—in more ways than one—an example to Africa.

*Margaret Digby.*

## COLOUR BAR

On April 6 Mr. Reginald Sorensen, Labour M.P. for Leyton and Vice-Chairman of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, made an attempt to introduce a Private Member's Bill in the House of Commons. Unfortunately, time did not permit the Bill to be debated. It could have gone forward for consideration in Committee if there had been no objections, but several Conservative Members did object. Mr. Sorensen hopes to have an opportunity to try again. The text of his proposed Bill is as follows:

A BILL to make illegal any discrimination to the detriment of any person on the basis of colour or race.

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. For the purpose of this Act a person exercises racial discrimination where he refuses, withholds or denies to any other person accommodation, advantages, facilities or privileges on account of the race or colour of that person.

2. Every person being the owner, manager, agent or an employee at any hotel, inn, boarding house, restaurant, café or any place habitually providing accommodation, food or beverages for reward who exercises or causes to be exercised racial discrimination shall be guilty of an offence.

3. Every person being the owner, manager, agent or an employee at any theatre, music hall, cinema, dance hall or any place habitually providing entertainment for reward who exercises or causes to be exercised racial discrimination shall be guilty of an offence.

4. Every person being one of the persons referred to in the two immediately preceding sections of this Act who writes, prints, publishes, displays or exhibits or causes to be written, printed, published, displayed or exhibited any notice, advertisement, warning or circular indicating that racial discrimination is or will be exercised at any of the places referred to in the two immediately preceding sections of this Act shall be guilty of an offence.

5. (1) All offences under this Act shall be prosecuted under the Summary Jurisdiction Acts.

(2) Any person guilty of an offence under this Act shall be liable in the case of the first offence, to a fine not exceeding five pounds and in the case of a second or subsequent conviction to a fine not exceeding twenty-five pounds.

6. This Act may be cited as the Colour Bar Act, 1951.

*Presented by Mr. Sorensen, supported by Mrs. Ganley, Mr. Dryden Brook, Mr. Houghton, Mr. Pannell, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Holman, Mr. Foot, Mr. Arthur Allen, Mr. George Jeger, Mr. George Craddock, and Mr. Emrys Hughes.*



## INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE COLONIES—I

A Reference document No. R.2068 issued by the Central Office of Information on January 1, 1951, reviews existing industries in the Colonies. Students will need to consult the whole summary, but for the general reader we have extracted some of the basic facts and figures, which will appear on this page in four consecutive numbers.

### I. East and Central Africa

UGANDA processes tea, coffee, cotton and sisal for export, tobacco is cured, and sugar is refined. As a result of the start made on the Owen Falls hydro-electric scheme, cement works at Tororo are expected to begin production this year, and licences have been issued for textiles and a cotton blanket factory at Jinja. In December, 1949, Uganda had 678 factories, as follows:—

Type of Manufacture	No. of factories
Cotton ... ..	200
Sawmills, joinery, woodwork ... ..	78
Tea and Coffee ... ..	75
General and jobbing engineering ... ..	58
Motor vehicle, etc., repairs ... ..	41
Flour and other milling ... ..	27
Oilcake, oil extracting and refining ... ..	27
Non-alcoholic drinks ... ..	16
Sugar and joggerly ... ..	14
Stone—Lime and Cement ... ..	11
Soap ... ..	9
Printing ... ..	9
Brick, Pipe and Tile-making ... ..	8
Electricity Stations ... ..	6
Tobacco ... ..	5
Other ... ..	94
	<b>678</b>

TANGANYIKA. Processing of primary products is again the major industrial activity. Leather goods, furniture and beer are produced for local consumption. Tanganyika Packers Ltd., a corporation owned jointly by the Tanganyika Government and Liebig's Ltd., have established a meat factory near Dar-es-Salaam which has been in operation since June, 1950. It deals with over 100 cattle per day and aims at 500. The Metal Box Co. have opened a factory to manufacture containers, and Steel Brothers are developing a timber

concession in the Southern Provinces. Details for 1949 are given below:—

Industry	No. of establishments	Average No. of employees	Production tons
Sisal ... ..	153	139,577	123,290
Coffee, cleaning and curing ... ..	12	667	16,560
Sugar, milling and refining ... ..	30	4,678	7,820
Cotton ginneries ... ..	29	278	25,320
Tea ... ..	6	6,433	710
Tanning ... ..	5	186	—
Rice, oil and flour milling ... ..	117	3,722	—
Saw milling ... ..	40	5,759	—
Soap Factories ... ..	27	337	—

KENYA has a number of processing industries based on the primary production which provides the bulk of Kenya's exports. Coffee, tea, rice, wheat, cassava and maize are processed for human consumption and for export. Pyrethrum and sisal are prepared for export, and sisal is also made into bags. Tanneries produce leather. Wattle bark is processed for a tanning extract, of which a large part is exported. Factories, many on a small scale, produce largely for local consumption soap, footwear, canned food, building materials, aluminium holloware, plywood, etc. The East African Industrial Management Board, set up and financed by the Kenya Government, established during the war pilot plants for the manufacture of caustic soda, industrial acids, hydrogenated oils, fibre board, glazed pottery, and refractories. The fibre board factory and an oil expressing plant have been disposed of by tender, and the remaining plants have been sold to East African Industries, a company in which the Colonial Development Corporation is associated as a majority shareholder with the Kenya Government.

ZANZIBAR distils clove-oil, expresses coconut-oil and manufactures soap. Exports of these products in 1948 were worth £321,851.

NORTHERN RHODESIA prepares copper for export, minerals accounting for 95 per cent by value of the territory's exports. There is also an



iron foundry with an output of 400 tons monthly. Over 6m. lbs. of tobacco were cured in 1949, and maize and wheat are milled. Furniture, soap and blankets are manufactured for local consumption, and building and railway materials are produced. Chilanga Cement Ltd. was formed in 1949 with three-quarters of its £1m. capital subscribed by the Colonial Development Corporation and the rest by the Northern Rhodesian Government. Production is to begin this year.

**NYASALAND** processes tobacco and tea. The present output of tung oil will be greatly increased when the Colonial Development Corporation establishes the three oil-expressing plants planned for its tung development scheme in the Vipya Highlands. A factory is under construction by the Acme Tea Chest Company to produce tea chests for the entire tea industry and plywood for furniture manufacture. Licences have been issued under the Industrial Licensing Ordinance for paper, cigarette and soap manufacture, and for a saw-mill.

### WORKING POPULATION

All the East and Central African territories are primarily concerned with agriculture. A complete analysis of the proportion of the population employed in industry is not given in the COI document, but the following information has been abstracted from the document and from the Annual Reports of the territories:—

#### Kenya

In 1948, the total population was 5,374,711, of whom 5,219,865 were Africans. 899,470 were able-bodied African males aged 16-45, of whom 37.9 per cent. were engaged in employment in November, 1948. 110,754 were engaged in agriculture (excluding resident labourers and daily-paid casual workers). Examples of other occupations are: industrial, 12,121; mining, 3,218; quarrying, 5,360; building and construction, 11,163; Government Service, 85,779.

The total non-native population in 1948 was 154,846. In June, 1948, 10,966 Europeans and 19,988 Asians were recorded as employed workers.

#### Tanganyika

The total population of Tanganyika in 1948 was 7,408,096, of whom 7,332,539 were Africans. In September, 1949, there were 473,988 indigenous persons in employment, of whom 27,100 were classified as being in industrial employment, the term 'industrial' being exclusive of mining and quarrying, building, railways and harbours, public services, and certain processing industries.

#### Uganda

In 1948, the population of Uganda was 4,926,725, of whom 4,885,760 were Africans. In June, 1948, there were in paid employment 139,377 people, of whom 24.6 per cent (34,226) were classified as industrial workers.

#### Zanzibar

Paid labour in Zanzibar is almost entirely dependent on cloves and coconuts, and the processing and handling of their products. In 1948 the total population was 265,872. The Public Works Department employed carpenters, masons, fitters, etc., with an average daily muster roll of 1,000. The Government also employed about 1,200 agricultural labourers.

#### Northern Rhodesia

In 1948, the population was estimated to be 1,720,300, of whom 1,690,000 were Africans. The following are approximate numbers of persons employed in the principal industries (*Annual Report*, 1948):—

Industry	Europeans	Africans
Mining ... ..	4,400	36,000
Agriculture ... ..	*	16,000
Domestic Service ... ..	Nil	18,000
Building and construction ... ..	*	13,000
Road Work ... ..	*	10,000
Transport and communications ... ..	*	4,000
Government and local authorities ... ..	*	8,000
Manufacturing industries ... ..	*	6,500
Other industries ... ..	*	11,000
Retail trade ... ..	*	5,000

\* No figures available.

#### Nyasaland

At the end of 1949, the population was estimated to be approximately 2,460,800 of whom 2,450,000 were Africans. At the peak period of employment, returns from employers of ten or more Africans gave the following figures of persons employed in the major industries:—

Tea growing and manufacture ... ..	32,312
Tobacco growing ... ..	13,206
Tobacco sorting and packing ... ..	14,278
Tung growing ... ..	3,563
Mixed Farming ... ..	5,029
Railways ... ..	4,209
Light Industry, transport and contracting ... ..	10,472
Public works Department ... ..	9,000
Native Authorities ... ..	4,000
Domestic Service ... ..	9,000



# Parliament

**Trade Unions in West Africa.** Mr. Sorensen asked what progress had been made in the development of trade unions in West African Colonies; and how many had been represented recently at the Conference of Free Trade Unions at Duala in French West Africa. In reply, the Secretary of State for the Colonies said that the latest available figures showed that there were 226 registered trade unions in the British West African territories, with a total membership of about 155,000. One hundred of these unions had been represented at the recent Trades Union Conference organised by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions held at Duala in the French Cameroons between the 5th and 7th March. (March 22.)

**Executive Council of the Gold Coast.** Mr. Sorensen asked for the academic and other qualifications of leading members of the new Gold Coast Assembly. Mr. Griffiths gave the following details of the Representative Members of the Executive Council:—Kwame Nkrumah, M.A. (Philosophy) and M.Sc. (Education) University of Pennsylvania; A. Casely Hayford, qualified in the United Kingdom as Barrister-at-Law; K. A. Gbedemah, educated Achimota College, former schoolmaster; K. Botsio, B.A., Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, 1944, Diploma in Education, Oxford; T. Hutton-Mills, qualified in the United Kingdom as Barrister-at-Law; Dr. Ansah Koi, qualified medical practitioner, M.R.C.S., M.R.C.P.; E. O. Asafu-Adjaye, B.A., University College, London, qualified in the United Kingdom as Barrister-at-Law; J. A. Baramoh, educated Tamale Government School, Kabachewura, and Secretary, Gonja Native Authority. (March 21.)

**Jendaram, Malaya.** In reply to Mr. Emrys Hughes Mr. Cook made a statement on police action in Jendaram on February 15. He said that the 1,600 inhabitants consisted mostly of Indonesians, Malays and Chinese. They had been detained under the Emergency Regulation which provided for collective detentions; they had been evacuated to a camp for screening after which those who could be safely released would be resettled. Jendaram had long been a hotbed of Communist activities and had provided supplies and recruits for terrorist bands operating in South Selangor. The inhabitants had given no information. The people were well-cared for and would receive compensation for goods they could not take with them. Those who would be eventually resettled would receive Government assistance. This operation had been carried out only after careful consideration and was exceptional; it emphasised by contrast the Government's constructive and progressive policy elsewhere in Malaya in assisting all those who showed willingness to co-operate in the restoration of law and order. (March 7.)

**Hurricane Damage, Antigua.** In reply to a question of Mr. Harry Hynd, Mr. Griffiths said that His Majesty's Government had agreed to increase the grant of £50,000 announced last September to a maximum of £175,000. Of this sum up to £152,000 would be for Antigua, up to £10,600 for Anguilla, and up to £12,300 for rebuilding the Leeward Islands Federal Secretariat, which had been destroyed by fire shortly after the hurricane. (March 12.)

**Cotton Ginneries in Uganda.** In reply to a question

by Mr. Beresford Craddock, Mr. Dugdale said that there were 194 ginneries of which 22 were owned by Europeans, 171 by Asians, and 1 by Africans. One hundred and fifty-five ginneries were being operated during the 1950-1951 cotton season, including 13 of those owned by Europeans, 141 by Asians, and one by Africans. The Protectorate Government had released one of the Asian-owned ginneries this season, and sublet it to the African Co-operative Union, which was also operating the African-owned ginnery. (March 14.)

**Federation in the West Indies.** Mr. Harry Hynd asked for a statement on the progress achieved regarding West Indian federation; what were the factors delaying its advance; and what progress had been made towards functional as distinct from political federation. Mr. Dugdale replied that Trinidad, the four Colonies of the Windward Islands, and the Presidencies of Antigua and St. Kitts of the Leeward Islands had accepted the federation report. This report had still to be discussed by the other Legislatures. Every opportunity had been taken to secure regional action through regional conferences discussing particular problems. The unification of the public services and the establishment of a Customs Union were being considered by the Legislatures. (March 14.)

**Development in Swaziland.** Mr. John Hynd asked what steps were being taken to employ and train Swazis especially on schemes of the Colonial Development Corporation. Mr. Gordon-Walker replied that there were facilities locally for general and technical education and the Government provided bursaries for further education outside the territory. Recent Government appointments included an African Assistant Secretary and eight African Development Officers. Other appointments, for example, to the medical and education services, would be made as soon as qualified candidates were available. The Colonial Development Corporation pursued a similar policy of associating the Swazi with its work, and arrangements had been made for training its employees at the Government Trade School. (March 15.)

**Northern Rhodesian Immigration.** Mr. J. Johnson asked what were the numbers of people entering Northern Rhodesia in the years, 1948, 1949 and 1950; and how many of these came from the Union of South Africa.

Mr. Dugdale: The figures are as follows:—

	Total number of immigrants	South African Nationals
1948 ... ..	5,516	2,392
1949 ... ..	6,533	3,146
1950 (January 1—September 30)	5,692	3,252

The figures for the last quarter of 1950 are not yet available. It is estimated that 50 per cent of immigration into Northern Rhodesia from the Union of South Africa is offset by re-emigration and that 25 per cent of immigration from the United Kingdom is similarly offset. (March 14.)



# Guide to Books

## The African Factory Worker.

By The Department of Economics, University of Natal. (Oxford University Press. 30s.)

The Industrial Revolution is well under way in Africa and yet the number of studies on which to base a well thought-out social policy can be counted on the fingers of one hand. This book therefore promises well: it is a field investigation conducted at Dunlop's factory in Durban, for which the main work was done by two African research students. The book is well produced, its many tables are clear and to the point.

Dunlop's employed, in 1946, 1,120 Africans with an average wage of 48s. 10d. This is considerably more than Africans earn in colonial territories, but much less than Europeans receive on similar work.

Though mainly drawn from the countryside, the study showed that the labour force was far from primitive. Only one man did not know his age. Three-quarters of the staff could read and write. Almost half knew English and everyone spoke Zulu fluently. But most of the workers were quite new to industrial life—even in Durban there is no industrial labour pool from which an expanding firm can draw. Domestic employment and agriculture contributed the largest contingents; the reason given for leaving the previous job was frequently 'unsatisfactory relations' with the employer.

Dunlop's pride themselves on their welfare services: the canteen where free tea is served in the rest intervals, a welfare room, a soccer team and a dance troupe sixty man strong. The firm allows two weeks' holidays and overtime pay and a long-service bonus. Nevertheless sixty per cent of the workers would not mind, or might even prefer, to work elsewhere. The South African pattern peeps through the guarded language of the report: the men are 'lined up' when recruited and one of the criteria of selection is the possession of a poll tax receipt. The white trade union 'represented' the Africans on the Works Council.

Withal industrial employment as such is popular. Not only are the good money, regular hours and a spell of urban life appreciated, but factories afford an opportunity to work on machines. 'Africans are doing something which the white man does and it gives them a feeling of equality.' The solidarity of Technical Man the world over may even be motivating the many applicants from the countryside, who are school teachers and agricultural demonstrators and whose educational status has estranged them from their fellows, and who are therefore lonely.

Working for a few years in town is one thing, permanent urbanisation is quite another. The idea was usually 'greeted either with anger or with ridicule and contempt.' Only one in ten had his wife living with him in town, while the rest chose to visit their wives in the Reserves rather than let them come to Durban. The resulting high labour turnover and absenteeism reduce efficiency, which is only 29 per cent of the European average. For this bad state of affairs there are, of course, other reasons too. Africans do not feed themselves well enough for industrial work. Indifferent selection accounts for some of the low productivity, as was proved when aptitude tests were installed and raised efficiency to almost half the European output. Interestingly enough, night work has no deleterious effects on African performances.

These are only a few plums from a rich cake. Unfortunately, too many cooks have had a hand in it to make it rise to the highest class in its category. Moreover, we are not told sufficient of the manner in which its results were obtained. We miss a reproduction of the questionnaire, so that we never are sure what the questions are which the workers were asked. A query 'How much cattle do you own?' must have sounded as inquisitorial to them, as a similar question on the size of my savings account would to me. We are spared the comments.

Leo Silberman.

## A Touch of the Sun.

By James Cameron. (H. F. & G. Witherby. 15s.)

In this wide-ranging collection of flashes upon the world's storm centres from Argentina to Korea the only connecting thread is the personality of the author. There is much rather wearisome recital of his tribulations in aeroplanes and hotels; but there are also revealing glimpses of his outlook on imperial and international affairs. Under a thin veneer of journalistic cynicism there appears an honest, acute and liberal-minded observer of the world and its troubles.

Most of the missions, we are told, were undertaken for the *Daily Express*, but the point of view is clearly Mr. Cameron's. 'It took tougher honesty and braver skill,' he says of India, 'to liquidate an Empire than ever it did to win it.' He thinks that 'the Groundnut affair was the most imaginative and adventurous plan ever to emerge from colonial politics'—but 'fantastically sanguine, heavily oversold.' And he tells with relish how a Negro friend entered on an American immigration form: 'Race—Human.'

Perhaps the chapters of most continuous interest to readers of *Venture* (even if strictly outside the journalist's sphere) will be those on India and Pakistan, including a harrowing picture of the horrors which accompanied partition. A few chapters deal with colonial affairs proper: of British Guiana the author 'could not make head or tail'; Jamaica 'had probably the most irrational and crackpot politics in the English-speaking world'; the Bahamas appeared to live solely for and by American dollars; East Africa was the land of Not Just Yet.

The stay-at-home student of the Colonies may be grateful, for these vivid pictures and shrewd and sympathetic comments, based though they are on lightning visits and interlarded with mere travel talk, help to put some life into the dry bones of facts and figures.

E. E. Dodd.

## SHORT NOTICES

**The Colonial Office and Jamaica's Constitution.** By Geoffrey Cooper, M.P. Mr. Cooper expresses the view—long held by practically everybody—that Jamaica's 1944 constitution, which instituted universal suffrage and gave a considerable measure of power without responsibility to the elected members of the Executive Council, has been a disaster. He does not analyse the constitution or suggest an adequate alternative. Nor is it clear whether Jamaica's admitted social evils are due to the heritage of slavery or to the constitution. There is a great deal of truth in what Mr. Cooper says. It is a pity he should



choose to say it in terms offensive to the Colonial Office and to many Jamaicans.

**Social Action.** Vol. 16. No. 10. (Council for Social Action, 289, Fourth Avenue, New York, 10. 15c.) Dr. Lewin, of Witwatersrand University, is a forthright opponent of all forms of race discrimination and doctrines of white supremacy. In this pamphlet he doubts whether Dr. Malan's Nationalist Party can be restrained by anything other than the fact that the policies pursued by this Party are detrimental to the economic prosperity of South Africa, hence to a vital interest of the Party.

## Activities of the Bureau

### Northern Rhodesian Constitution.

Northern Rhodesia. The deputation expressed the view that the present position on the Executive Council of Northern Rhodesia was constitutionally and politically unsatisfactory, and discussed African representation in the Legislative Council, official statements in the Legislative Council, and immigration. The deputation was led by Mr. Reginald Sorensen, M.P., and consisted of Dr. Rita Hinden, Mr. John Hynd, M.P., Mr. James Johnson, M.P., Miss Marjorie Nicholson and Mr. John Parker, M.P. Lord Faringdon and Mr. C. W. W. Greenidge were unable to be members, owing to absence abroad. A fuller statement will be made in a subsequent number of *Venture*.

### Southern Rhodesia.

The Bureau is still in correspondence with the Commonwealth Relations Office on the Native Land Husbandry Bill. No action could be taken on the Electoral Amendment Bill, owing to the fact that it was not subject to disallowance on the advice of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. The Bureau, however, expressed the view (see April *Venture*) that the raising of qualifications for the franchise in Southern Rhodesia in such a way that all but a tiny handful of Africans would be excluded from voting on the common roll should be a warning against the transfer of power to racial minorities. Lord Faringdon, Chairman of the Bureau, wrote a letter to *The Times* in conjunction with Mr. Arthur Creech Jones and Lord Lindsay of Birker, which was

published on March 6, 1951. Dr. Rita Hinden wrote to *The Times* on March 22, 1951. A letter on behalf of the Bureau was published in the *Manchester Guardian* on March 14, 1951. Lord Faringdon also wrote an article in *Tribune* which was published on March 22, 1951. It was a matter of great regret that on this very important matter concerning African rights, the only action the Bureau could take was to try to bring the facts to the attention of the British public.

\* \* \*

### Publications.

Work has started on a document on broadcasting in the Colonies. It is hoped to examine the cultural and social rôle that broadcasting can play in colonial territories, and also the problem of the control of broadcasting. There is at present no one form of control of broadcasting in the Colonies. Members who have information and views on this subject are asked to communicate with the Secretary.

\* \* \*

### Correspondence with Colonial Office.

The Bureau has written to the Secretary of State to draw his attention to the present unsatisfactory position in Hong Kong. Mr. Griffiths replied that the reform of the Hong Kong constitution is still under consideration. A letter was sent on Malaya and Singapore, expressing anxiety at the measures taken under Emergency Regulations in the destruction of the town of Jendaram, and a number of arrests without trial in Singapore. The Bureau understands the reasons for such arrests, but is concerned with the principles involved and has asked for further information. The Bureau has also been in correspondence on the subject of food subsidies in the Seychelles.

\* \* \*

### Shining Example.

A member of the Colonial Bureau has taken to heart our comments in the *Annual Report* on financial difficulties in a way which makes her a shining example to all the rest. She writes: 'I enclose a postal order for 21s. being a donation to the Colonial Bureau. I also propose sending you 5s. every month in the hope that you might be able to find a lot more people who would do the same.' This is typical of the spirit which built up the Labour movement. We hope that this member's example will be widely imitated!

For Reference

May, 1951

### CONTENTS FOR THIS NUMBER

#### Comment—

Never Again	- - - - -	1
Singapore Votes	- - - - -	2
Official Information	- - - - -	2
The African Worker and Economic Revolution	- - - - -	3
The Chinese in South-east Asia	- - - - -	5
Success for the Chagga	- - - - -	7
Colour Bar	- - - - -	7
Fact—		
Industrial Development in the Colonies—I	- - - - -	8
Parliament	- - - - -	10
Guide to Books	- - - - -	11
Activities of the Bureau	- - - - -	12

## FABIAN

# COLONIAL BUREAU

11 Dartmouth Street, London, SW1

Annual Subscription to Bureau . . . 20s.  
(including *Venture*)

Full-time Students' Subscription . . . 10s.

Annual Subscription to *Venture* only 7s.

Further details of membership from the Secretary